W. R. Hearst—1898 and 1951

THE Nation

August 25, 1951

Quakers in Moscow

"Peacemaking Is a Two-Way Enterprise"

BY GERALD BAILEY

*

Our "Racket" Society

BY ROBERT S. LYND

*

Germany Today: II

The Rearmament Debate

BY MARK GAYN

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Del Vayo Reports from Paris

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YELLOW JOURNALISM—1898

[*The following editorial appeared in* The Nation *of May 5, 1898. One of the first significant comments on the emerging "yellow journalism" of the period, it was widely quoted at the time and later became known as* "The Nation's *famous editorial" on the subject of the youthful William Randolph Hearst (see, for example, "The Martial Spirit" by Walter Millis, 1931, page 198). Published fifty-three years ago, the editorial retains much of its original interest—and pertinence.*]

The New Political Force

THE power of making war in a democracy must always, in the last resort, no matter what the constitutional arrangements may be, reside in the mass of the people. From them must come the demand which makes either war or peace inevitable. This, in a free state, there is no getting over. It is the popular will which puts armies in motion or says there has been fighting enough. When war breaks out, therefore, it is really brought about by the influences which have acted most powerfully on the popular mind in its favor. When one sets about a minute examination of these influences, one is apt to be astonished by the number of them that are in some way irrelevant, such as misinformation about the causes of the war, about its cost, about its duration, about the character or doings of the enemy, about his motives in fighting, about the motives of our own public men, about international rights and duties, about the government's state of preparation to fight. This can hardly be otherwise; it is so in every free country, when the war is an offensive one or is conducted at a distance from home. It is rare in any war, except a war of independence, that the public thoroughly understands what it is fighting about. . . .

Our public men have long ceased to try to exercise this sort of influence. However much opposed to a war they may be, they dislike extremely to say so openly. They communicate their doubts or hesitations to their friends privately, but in public they shrink so much from the charge of want of "patriotism," which is the warrior's chief weapon, that their influence through speeches is almost always on the side of war. . . .

In default of other influences, the power of molding opinion is passing—in fact, has long since passed—into the hands of the press. As a strange fate would have it, too, the subject on which the very worst portion of the press exerts most influence is war. The fomenting of war and the publication of mendacious accounts of war have, in fact, become almost a special function of that portion of the press which is known as "yellow journals." The war increases their circulation immensely. They profit enormously by what inflicts sorrow and loss on the rest of the community. They talk incessantly of war, not in the way of instruction, but simply to excite by false news, and stimulate savage passions by atrocious suggestions. Read this, O fighting parsons! clipped from a recent number of one which claims a circulation of over a million copies:

> Occasionally we hear croaks from peace men. "How sad to kill sons and fathers of sad-eyed women," they say, etc. No sadder than to kill cousins and aunts of sad-eyed rattlesnakes. The man who would object to this war would object to the wholesale destruction of poisonous reptiles in India. And as for the American who has any feeling about the war other than a red-hot desire to hear of victories and Spanish ships sunk, all we can say is that he reminds us of the cannibal toad now on exhibition in the Paris Jardin d'Acclimatation.

Now the characteristic of these papers, which, as we have said, so powerfully influence opinions, is that they are, for the first time in American history, an irresponsible force, and the only one in the state. Every other influence in the community, not openly criminal, acknowledges some sort of restraint. The gamblers and policy-dealers live in fear of the police; the venders of obscene literature all have Anthony Comstock before their eyes; the dishonest business men live in dread of the loss of reputation or credit. . . . In short, it would be difficult to name any body of men, pursuing a calling not openly criminal, who do not live and labor under some sort of discipline, seen or unseen, which constantly reminds them that they, too, have duties which they must perform or suffer in some way.

From every such discipline or restraint, except libel suits, the yellow journalist is absolutely free. His one object is to circulate widely and make money. And he does circulate widely. He treats war as a prize-fight, and begets in hundreds of thousands of the class which enjoys prize-fights an eager desire to hear about it or read about it. These hundreds of thousands write to their Congressmen clamoring for war, as the Romans used to clamor for *panem et circenses;* and since the timid and quiet are generally attending only too closely to their business, the Congressman concludes that if he, too, does not shout for war, he will lose his seat.

This is an absolutely new state of things. In none of our former wars did anything like the modern press play any part. . . . The great newspapers were serious publications. Our cheap press today speaks in tones never before heard out of Paris. It urges upon ignorant people schemes more savage, disregard of either policy, or justice, or experience more complete, than the modern world has witnessed since the French Revolution. It is true it addresses the multitude mainly or only. The wise and learned and the pious and industrious do not read it. But it is the multitude mainly, and not the wise and learned and industrious, who now set fleets and armies in motion, who impose silence and acquiescence on all as soon as the word "war" is mentioned, and insist successfully that they shall not be interfered with, by either voice or vote, until they have had their fill of fighting. They have already established a regime in which a blackguard boy with several millions of dollars at his disposal has more influence on the use a great nation may make of its credit, of its army and navy, of its name and traditions, than all the statesmen and philosophers and professors in the country. If this does not supply food for reflection about the future of the nation to thoughtful men, it must be because the practice of reflection has ceased. . . .

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THE Nation

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

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The Shape of Things

WITH THE SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE UNITED Nations and Communist delegates talking behind closed doors, the news from Kaesong has amounted to little more than gossip and guesses purveyed by frustrated newsmen on the premises who, through window and keyhole, have been able to catch an occasional smile or frown or sound of laughter. Secrecy is essential, however, if the talks are to succeed and it is only unfortunate that the press should continue to speculate in tall black type on the possibility of a backdown or a new deadlock. Even under the best circumstances neither side can avoid paying a political price for positions surrendered in negotiation. Already the pro-MacArthur diehards in Washington are announcing that a peace which recognized the Thirty-eighth Parallel as the boundary between North and South Korea would be a Communist victory. And the New York *Times* last Sunday expounded the same line in an editorial proclaiming, "If the Communists can jockey us into a position where we give even the appearance of recognizing the permanent partition of Korea at the Thirty-eighth Parallel they will have won by guile which should have been transparent what they were unable to win by aggressive invasion." Statements like these are untrue and inflammatory. They also flatly contradict the views expressed not long ago by General Ridgway and Secretary Acheson, both of whom approved the Parallel as an acceptable stopping place for a victorious war against Communist aggression. More important, they served to warn the American negotiators at Kaesong that any concessions made in the interest of agreement will be denounced as aid to the enemy. The Communists too are captives of their own stubborn pugnacity; to have to settle, as they surely must, for a less favorable line than the Thirty-eighth Parallel will mean a bad loss of face. Their position will be far more difficult if American opinion insists that a cease-fire line north of the border implies a political division along the same line. If a compromise at Kaesong is possible, its only chance of being worked out in the first place and accepted afterward lies in a merciful absence of publicity while the bargaining goes on. A cease-fire in being—the guns silent, the killing over—would be the best argument against intransigence on both sides.

THE LOW- AND MIDDLE-INCOME GROUPS, hard hit already by a lobby-written "price-control" law, are about to have thrust upon them a disproportionate share of the increased tax burden. The need for increased taxes is obvious; but how should the increase be distributed? Senators who were blind to the perils of inflation a few weeks ago have suddenly decided that "the fight against inflation" requires a lowering of the purchasing power of the lowest income groups. The House, operating under the traditional principle of proportionate increases, has voted to raise $2,850,000,000 by increasing all payments 12½ per cent. The 12½ per cent increase would be based on *payments*—a figure which already reflects the graduated tax rates. Thus an individual paying a 20 per cent rate would be raised to 22½ per cent, an increase of only 2½ per cent, while an individual paying 33 per cent of his income in taxes would pay approximately 37 per cent—an increase of 4 per cent. In the Senate, however, a movement is under way to substitute a plan which would place a flat 3 per cent increase on all rates. Under this plan everyone's tax rate would increase equally, but the actual payments of lower-income groups would increase by a greater percentage than those of the higher-income groups.

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DEFENDERS OF THE PLAN ARGUE THAT A TAX which bears heavily on low- and middle-income groups is a more effective weapon against inflation than one which strikes at individuals who save a portion of their income. But economic arguments cannot be considered in a vacuum. Having recently enacted a so-called price-control law which gives business a great opportunity to raise prices, it would be manifestly unjust for Congress to turn about and punish those who will be hardest hit by the increases. It is absurd to think that a 3 per cent rise in rates will check inflationary pressures once the full impact of the rearmament program is felt. Should the House bill be revised in the Senate and a flat-rate increase be imposed, the net result would still be inflationary, since no effective legislation exists to control prices. If Congress were genuinely concerned with inflation, it would revise a bad control law rather than impose a greater tax burden on groups already severely burdened.

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TECHNICAL IMPROVEMENTS INTRODUCED IN Syrian agriculture have created a genuine paradox: the resulting increase in profits and the size of holdings has so widened the gap between rich and poor that the privileged position of a small clique of wealthy landlords face a serious challenge. A recent protest meeting of landlords in Homs indicates how effectively the idea of land reform has captured the imagination of the entire country. The anguished cries about "law and order" and "Islamic tradition" which echoed at this meeting would doubtless have touched off severe repressions in the days when the landlords completely dominated the government, but today the situation is somewhat changed. The land-reform movement is being directed by Akram Hourani, Socialist Party leader and member of Parliament from Hama, and by Maaroof el Dawalibi, speaker of the Syrian Parliament, who has introduced legislation under which the government would take over holdings in excess of fifty acres. If Washington intends to promote land reform in the so-called "backward areas," Syria would be a good place to start. But technical assistance unaccompanied by land reform can prove embarrassing, as the experience there indicates.

"This Terrible Business"

AUGUST 14 was an important and busy day for President Truman. First he virtually announced his candidacy for the Democratic nomination by giving tacit approval to Senator Hubert H. Humphrey's proposal to enter his name in the Minnesota primary on March 18—one of the earliest state primaries. Then, in a speech dedicating the new American Legion national headquarters, he deliberately made McCarthyism an issue in the 1952 campaign by lashing out at "this terrible business" of slander, lies, and character assassination.

Graduates of Kansas City's school of politics are known for their adeptness as catch-as-catch-can tactics, and the most distinguished alumnus is no exception. Foreign policy is not likely to be a major issue in next year's election, particularly if General Eisenhower should be the Republican nominee, and both parties share responsibility for the more glaring errors and omissions of the Congress. What the President needs, of course, is a good lively issue which can be used to distinguish Democrats from Republicans and enable him to appear in his most attractive public role—that of the "scrappy fighter," "the good little man" battling against heavy odds. The issue of McCarthyism meets these requirements. Besides, a reaction to McCarthyism is in the making; it is not much larger than a man's fist today, but it could become quite a cloud by November, 1952.

This is not to imply, of course, that the President intends to challenge McCarthyism in its fundamental aspects. "The President," as Doris Fleeson observed recently in the New York *Post*, "talks a big hate against

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McCarthy, but efforts to enlist the Executive in a battle to root out McCarthyism have been unrewarding." The trouble is, of course, that there is more to McCarthyism than Senator Joe McCarthy; like his namesake Charlie, Joe is a puppet. Mr. Truman can be relied on to attack the puppet, but he is much less likely to attack those who pull the strings. The fight against McCarthyism, however, could turn out to be more of a slugging match than the President may now realize.

It should not be overlooked that the President has been driven into the corner from which he intends "to come out fighting," much in the manner of his 1948 campaign. It is no secret, for example, that the Taft-Dixiecrat-McCarran alliance is determined to obtain from the current investigation of the Institute of Pacific Relations one or more sensational indictments. As his Detroit and Washington speeches indicate, Mr. Truman is well aware that he will be viciously attacked in next year's campaign as a harborer of "reds" and "subversives," the dupe of "intellectuals" and "fellow-travelers." With his usual political shrewdness he has spotted the attack well in advance and has decided to counter-attack.

In the drama of politics the chief actors often steal lines as well as scenes and attempt to make off with a fine part which was intended for someone else. It will be a little hard, at least at first, to accept Mr. Truman in his new role—what with the unrescinded loyalty order, the Smith act indictments, and his failure to call for repeal of the McCarran act, to mention only a few items. But there are times when the lines become so important that one can overlook inappropriate castings and even an inadequate performance. Mr. Truman spoke the right lines to the right audience when he told the American Legion that Americanism is under attack today by some people "who are loudly proclaiming that they are its chief defenders. . . . Character assassination is their stock in trade. Guilt by association is their motto. They have created such a wave of fear and uncertainty that their attacks upon our liberties go almost unchallenged. Many people are growing frightened—and frightened people don't protest. Stop and think where this is leading us."

Our main interest, however, is not in the lines but in the plot. On the day the President spoke, Senator McCarthy announced that 20,000—not 19,999—letters had been "stolen" from his offices in the Senate Office Building. Accepting the challenge, the Senator said, "It ill befits the President of this great nation to try to protect the dupes and stooges of the Kremlin. . . . I would like to ask the President why he so viciously attacks in general terms those who expose Communists? Why does the President fear discussing the evidence against his planners, who have been responsible for the loss of 100,000,000 people a year [not 99,999,999] to communism since 1945?" In other words: Mr. Truman, are you now or have you ever been . . .?

Speaking from a platform in front of the new Legion building, the President was interrupted by applause only a few times and only once after he reached the heart of his speech and declared that false charges of communism and corruption have been leveled against the finest and most loyal group of civil servants in the nation's history. Erle Cocke, Jr., the Legion's national commander, told reporters he was "not wildly enthusiastic" about the President's speech and would not lead the Legion in any campaign against Senator McCarthy. But one may safely assume that Mr. Truman, who is a dues-paying member of four Missouri Legion posts, hardly expected the National Commander to lead the attack against McCarthyism and that he is much too experienced a politician to have been surprised, much less discouraged, by the reception his remarks received. The President knows that he has placed the Republicans in the position of having to indorse, repudiate, or remain silent about McCarthyism. Indeed, he could make the same effective use of a civil-liberties plank in the 1952 platform that he made of a civil-rights plank in 1948. To note the opportunity, however, is not to predict that it will be fully exploited.

William Randolph Hearst

WILLIAM RANDOLPH HEARST, whose sixty years in American journalism and politics came to a close last week, had three major advantages and handicaps: he was subsidized; he was imitative; he was self-centered.

Subsidies from his father's mining and cattle interests in the West enabled Hearst to start his newspaper empire. The wealth left him by his mother many years later enabled him to pay for the results of his errors and extravagances. Without his father's money Hearst might have been a success in the raucous journalism of the turn of the century—he had many of the qualities needed for success in this field—but he could not have started from the top or indulged in so many costly experiments.

Hearst did not originate "yellow journalism"; he merely gave it its name and developed its techniques. Joseph Pulitzer, a man of greater principle than Hearst, had taken over the *World* in New York more than ten years before Hearst arrived from San Francisco. Pulitzer combined an enthusiasm for crusading with a taste for sensationalism and was in many respects Hearst's model. Hearst spent more money than Pulitzer because he had more money to spend. He bought up Pulitzer's men as he bought whatever he thought he needed. For him it was merely a question of paying more than anybody else for anyone or anything he wanted. His associates,

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even the loyal ones, have always agreed that the whim of the "Chief" was their law.

Whenever originality was required or money was not sufficient, William Randolph Hearst failed. In politics he tried hard to become mayor of New York City, governor of the state, and President of the United States. The public, which read his comics and his scandals and his murder stories, did not give him its confidence. But he had great power and influence none the less. A large part of "the American newspaper ferocity toward Spain," which was an important factor in our involvement in the Spanish-American War, may be traced, as Walter Millis has pointed out, "to the accidental circumstance that Mr. Hearst and Mr. Pulitzer were at the time locked in their famous struggle for supremacy in the field of sensational journalism in New York." Hearst tried before both world wars to make the United States pro-German. When war made it treason to be otherwise, he became a passive patriot. He stirred up animosity against the Mexicans and the Japanese because they seemed to him to interfere or compete with his interests; and on at least one occasion the Senate inquired into his extraordinary fondness for forged documents. He hated the English, and if he loved the United States it was in some special, private, cryptic sense, for he always showed a cynical contempt of its inhabitants. Though his own private life was far from strait-laced, he did not hesitate to ruin, for purposes of circulation, the private lives of those who could not retaliate.

In many ways William Randolph Hearst was the poor little rich boy of "Citizen Kane." He asked for a newspaper as some children might ask for a peppermint stick. An indulgent father gave him one in San Francisco which he had picked up for a bad debt. And then bought him another in New York. When Hearst wanted a castle in England, eager agents paid any price. It lay for years in a warehouse, each brick marked for reconstruction at San Simeon whenever the Chief might get around to it. His adventure in motion pictures was another colossal failure. Though a purchaser of art, he was never a patron of it. He merely bought whatever seemed appropriately expensive. Although Hearst's impact on American journalism is much too complex a subject to be dealt with briefly, his newspapers and magazines contributed little to the development of literature or to progress.

The Manchester *Guardian* summed up the career of Hearst in these words: "William Randolph Hearst is dead, and it is hard even now to think of him with charity. Perhaps no other man ever did so much to debase the standards of journalism." But charity should be extended to the man if not to the public figure. Mr. Hearst unquestionably possessed personal qualities that won for him the admiration of many who worked for him, including some former employees whose feeling were not prompted by self-interest and who were by no means blind to his shortcomings. And it should be obvious that Hearst did not fashion the social morality of the generation of tycoons to which his father belonged.

But it is possible to believe that Hearst was not a moral monster without accepting the nearly unanimous adulation that followed his death. Have American values become so distorted that a gargoyle can be mistaken for the image of a saint? That Hearst should be honored as a public figure in public statements by high government officials and leaders from all walks of American life is a most disturbing evidence of the idolatry of sheer wealth and power and magnitude which seems to obsess so many Americans. The unctuous eulogy of Mayor Impellitteri of New York only emphasized the degrading spectacle of the American flag being flown at half-mast on the City Hall out of respect to the memory of a man of whose public accomplishments it would be best to say nothing.

Report from Paris

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

Paris, August 14

ON RETURNING to Europe after an absence of ten months, I get a strong impression that things are not going as well in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization as its promoters pretend or as badly as its enemies announce. Under the capable leadership of General Eisenhower the European divisions that a year ago existed only on paper seem to be materializing. When the interim report on the European army was signed at the Quai d'Orsay, the press that is close to the various Foreign Offices hailed the event enthusiastically, although it was generally recognized that the document was not an agreement and that its proposals were only tentative. Aside from what might be called the "classic" difficulty of German participation, many suspicions and prejudices must be overcome before a European army can be integrated in the Atlantic defense force. General Eisenhower sees an army made up of French, Benelux, German, and, he hopes, British troops as an important step toward the desired unification of Europe. London remains cool toward the idea for the same reason that it rejected the Schuman Plan and the aims of Strasbourg.

Meanwhile it looks as if the armies were beginning to march. In England the most extensive maneuvers since

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THE FOREIGN EDITOR of The Nation *will report from Geneva and Paris on the activities of the United Nations and will cover other European developments. His next article will deal with the Conference on East-West Relations at Helsingör, Denmark, which he attended as a delegate of The Nation Associates.*

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the end of the war will be carried on over eight counties from October 12 to 16. In France military activities are going full blast, though every other establishment in Paris from barbershops to laundries has closed its doors and gone on vacation.

The small nations of the Atlantic community are making the sacrifices demanded of them. Holland is devoting a billion and a half florins to rearmament; Denmark the fantastic sum of 650,000,000 kroner, although only a year ago the government had difficulty finding 45,000,000 for the purpose. The finance ministers of the larger states are working hard to square the circle and provide guns without taking away all the butter, while the man in the street, who sees the prices of necessities rising every day, grumbles and protests.

The guns-vs.-butter solution of the European problem, while simple in theory, presents practical difficulties. The best-intentioned attempts of European governments to shoulder the burden of rearmament collides with economic and social realities. It is becoming constantly more difficult to form a coalition government, even a government willing to renounce the luxury of a program in order to make it easier for the various parties to cooperate. In the latest French crisis it took five weeks and eight failures of would-be Premiers to produce the Pleven Cabinet. With the Socialists refusing to participate, the Herriot Radicals joining with bad grace, and the General Confederation of Labor declaring war, this government cannot last very long. In Italy, De Gasperi has won parliamentary support for his new Cabinet, but the competent Rome correspondent of the Paris *Monde*, Jean d'Hospital, writes: "You can build on ruins but not on quicksand. The government is fragile."

Perhaps a government would find its task easier if the people were convinced that while they were offering up sacrifices to rearmament their leaders were exploring all roads to a rapprochement with the East. Europeans are growing more and more skeptical that the Americans, believing "time is working for them, really want a settlement in the immediate future, even if one is possible. American foreign policy seems to be firmly based on the Acheson thesis of creating "situations of strength" and to be under the spell of the optimistic Charles E. Wilson, who has indicated that in eighteen months the United States will have reached such a level of production as to be invincible. The self-confidence of Americans, however, is frequently shaken by a wave of anxiety lest they be *too* late—when they read, for instance, that the Russians are building faster planes than theirs; and this emotional instability causes Europeans to fear that the United States may suddenly precipitate a war.

The European state of mind has been correctly described by an American who had enjoyed exceptional opportunities to inform himself about public opinion abroad. In a statement published rather inconspicuously in New York newspapers, Kent Cooper, executive director of the Associated Press, said on his return from Europe on July 30: "They [the people of Europe] are frightened to death of our defense pressure. They are afraid it might turn into an aggressive policy." A little before that, a man whom nobody could call pro-Russian, M. Jacques Chastenet, on returning to Europe from the United States, wrote in the moderate *Journal de Genève*, "America, having made great sacrifices for its own security and that of the world, does not want to feel they have been in vain. Conscious of the justice of its cause, it may eventually send the enemy an ultimatum demanding that he withdraw to his 1939 borders or fight it out."

These worries of Europeans are aggravated by a growing discontent at being treated on some occasions as inferior allies expected to follow a policy laid down by the United States instead of sharing in its formulation. Americans do not realize how irritated people on this side of the Atlantic were by Washington's determination to make a deal with Franco regardless of the objections of the French and British.

THE British, very sensibly, are unwilling to be dragged into action which well serves the purposes of Russian propaganda, but that is not their only reason for not wanting to give up all liberty of action. "Economic diplomacy" laid the basis of Britain's past greatness, and the country is still a firm believer in its efficacy. Whether Labor or the Conservatives are in power, Englishmen by temperament and tradition are against all unnecessary barriers to trade. When Winston Churchill, in September, 1950, criticized the Labor government for carrying on a commercial flirtation with Russia, Mr. Attlee could reply that Mr. Churchill and his friends had not protested when the British-Russian trade agreements were signed in 1947. In spite of the tension produced by the Korean war, Mr. Attlee did not hesitate to add, "Our policy has never been to erect an iron curtain between the countries of Eastern and Western Europe in commercial matters. We have concluded a commercial agreement with the Soviet Union for our mutual advantage. The Russians have fulfilled their obligations; we have fulfilled ours."

Accustomed to doing business with the whole world, the British have been irked by the limitations imposed on their trade with the Eastern bloc by the Marshall Plan and the Atlantic Treaty.* While Britain agreed to the embargo on Communist China and has accepted severe restrictions on trade in goods properly designated as war material, it is safe to predict that both people and

*On August 16 the press reported that Sir Hartley Shawcross, president of the British Board of Trade, had appealed to the United States to recognize Britain's need to trade with Eastern Europe. Britain, he said, did not have the resources of the United States and must trade tolive.—EDITORS THE NATION.

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government would react favorably to any convincing indication that Russia was disposed to replace the cold war and the marginal wars with an economic peace in which exports and imports would again move normally between East and West.

I have always maintained that it is dangerous for American political strategists to forget that Russia is free to choose one of two courses: it can threaten Great Britain and France and the other West European powers and thus drive them into the arms of the United States, or it can calm their fears by giving tangible proof that peaceful coexistence is possible, that the Kremlin is "not exporting revolution," as Mr. Malik expressed it to the visiting Quakers in Moscow. Some exceptionally well-informed people with whom I have talked here are inclined to think that the Soviet Union has been sufficiently disturbed by the rearming of Germany and the American deal with Franco to decide on the second course. They also believe that its moves in this direction will be speeded up between now and the meeting of the General Assembly in the fall. This view has been confirmed by Moscow's announcement that it would send representatives to the Japanese-peace-treaty conference at San Francisco.

So far the Soviet peace offensive has had very limited results. But the British Conservative leader, Anthony Eden, who is always sensitive to world opinion, commented on the Shvernik letter very differently from Washington officials. "The Soviets," he said, "may from time to time offer friendly gestures. We should not of course rebuff them but should test them out." The Paris *Monde* asked Mr. Acheson if it was not illogical to refuse to admit Communist China to the discussions in the United Nations when its existence had to be recognized at Kaesong. Russia's peace drive, however, has not yet changed the disposition of the West European governments to follow Washington's directives. Whether they wait months before complying, as in the matter of German rearmament, or weeks, as when the issue was whether the French, the British, or the American rifle should be adopted by the new European army, in the end American ideas and American weapons will be accepted.

All this may have convinced the Russians that if they are going to stop the piling up of Western war preparations before a dangerous point of disequilibrium is reached they must do something that will force the European governments, under the pressure of public opinion, to reconsider the whole situation and regain liberty of action in world affairs.

Quakers in Moscow

BY GERALD BAILEY

London, August 12

THANKS largely to the three-and-a-half-hour interview given us by Deputy Foreign Minister Malik, the recent visit of a group of British Quakers to the Soviet Union has received wide notice through press and radio—perhaps more notice than as Friends we temperamentally enjoy. Elsewhere I have described in some detail our meetings with Russian Christians, notably with the Patriarch Alexius and the Metropolitan Nikolai of the Russian Orthodox Church, and with the leaders of the Baptist Evangelicals, who are the largest non-conformist religious group in the Soviet Union. Here I want to report upon our talks with newspaper editors, say something more about the perhaps historic Malik interview, and attempt, however rashly, some evaluation of the "peace" situation as viewed from the Russian end by a group of Britishers after a too brief stay in the Soviet Union.

First, however, let me clear up certain points about the background of our visit. The desire of the London Yearly Meeting of the Society of Friends to send a delegation to Russia sprang from the general and long-standing concern of Friends to promote, especially at the focal points of international tension, a true peace between the nations, and more particularly from the special work which British Friends, in close cooperation with American Quakers, have been doing for more than a year to encourage constructive solutions of the East-West problem. We have probed this issue with American and British statesmen and with representative leaders of other countries, including the Soviet Union, in the corridors of the United Nations. Why not go, as we were often urged to, and talk these problems over face to face with the highest authorities we could reach in Moscow itself? Unlike most delegations currently visiting the Soviet Union, we could not possibly be suspected of Communist sympathies, overt or covert.

In a crowded fortnight we achieved, we felt, a good balance between "sight-seeing" and frank conversations with representative persons on the problems of peace. In Moscow, Leningrad, and Kiev we saw the historic

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places, secular and religious, and the priceless art treasures of the Russian past, all of which the Soviet government is maintaining and restoring with infinite care and plentiful funds. We saw also the typical achievements of the Soviet present—the collective farms, the large factories with their often quite impressive cultural and welfare facilities, the Gorki Park for Rest and Culture, the ornate stations of the new Metro, a vast rehousing scheme on the edge of Moscow where a dozen or so large apartment houses are going up, a kindergarten at Kiev for two hundred sun-tanned babies, and the immense stadium in Moscow where the Dynamos play football.

These varied excursions, if the word is appropriate, made us appreciate the immense stake which for domestic reasons the Soviet Union has in the avoidance of world war. To say this is not to approve its external policies or to minimize the perhaps decisive contributions which the Soviet government has to make to the insuring of peace. It is simply to recognize that the Russians are faced with the modernization of a still largely primitive country covering the biggest single land mass in the world, that they have only touched the fringe of this task as yet, that they have an intense desire to complete it, and that a new war would set the job back for decades if not indefinitely.

THE most important of our formal conversations were with Mr. Malik at the Foreign Ministry, with the Orthodox and Baptist religious leaders, with officials of the Federation of Trade Unions, with the editorial staff, led by the poet Simonov, of the influential *Literary Gazette* of Moscow, and with Professor Morozov, editor of the recently founded English-language fortnightly *News,* and members of his staff. Incidentally, though this was aside from our main mission, we talked with the Indian, Burmese, and British ambassadors and, in the absence of the ambassador, with the chargé d'affaires of the government of the People's Republic of China.

In all our conversations with the Russians we were concerned to emphasize the contributions which in our judgment the Soviet government and press could make to the lessening of international tension and the achievement of positive agreements between East and West. We explained that we were constantly urging corresponding action on the governments of the West, particularly in Britain and the United States. We found ourselves speaking with complete frankness of the obstacles to peaceful understanding raised by the uncooperativeness of the Soviet government in international relations and especially in the work of the United Nations, by the West's uncertainty about the precise relationship of Russia's "peace propaganda" to its desire to foment world revolution and extend Soviet power, by Russia's refusal to facilitate normal intercourse between its people and the people of the West, and by the constantly hostile propaganda against the governments of the West disseminated by Soviet radio and press.

In raising these issues we were careful to emphasize three principles which seemed to us basic to the purpose of reaching proper understandings and practical agreements between the peoples and governments of the Soviet Union and the West: first, the crucial importance of inculcating a spirit of peace and of abstaining therefore from words and actions which increase bitterness and suspicion; second, the hardly less vital need to enable more Russians and more Westerners to come into contact with each other and know each other's way of life better; and, third, the importance of seeing true peacemaking as a two-way enterprise requiring concessions and contributions from both sides. We were the better pleased to conduct the discussion on these terms because, as we explained, we were frequent critics of aspects of the foreign policy of our own government.

I will add a word of detail about two of our conversations only—the talk with Professor Morozov and his associates and the talk with Mr. Malik. Mr. Morozov, a genial, English-speaking Shakespearean scholar, presided with commendable informality and restraint over a two-hour round-table conference between the editorial staff of *News* and ourselves, in which we submitted the contents of the first number of the journal to a thorough analysis from the standpoint of its declared aim of promoting Soviet-Western and particularly Soviet-American and Soviet-British understanding. This English-language magazine has been regarded by Western observers in Moscow as a not unimportant straw showing a wind blowing more favorably toward the West. Its articles on Soviet-American and Soviet-British relations were, it was felt, couched in comparatively friendly terms and, what is more, had been reproduced in *Pravda* and *Izvestia* and were thus available for the Russian as well as the foreign reader.

Nevertheless, we saw room for improvement, and before an extremely courteous and attentive audience we pointed out gross misstatements in an article on Liverpool by a Russian doctor who had visited that city. We urged that as far as possible articles about the life and culture of the West should be written by Westerners who were not Communists. And we suggested that if the paper really aimed to be a "searchlight on world events," it should not become merely a vehicle for Soviet propaganda but should seek with some measure of objectivity to appraise international problems from a Russian angle. All this was received with great good-will. We were asked to send further comments from home whenever we felt like it and were promised they would be published.

Our interview with Mr. Malik perhaps put our mission a little out of perspective, since there was much more in our total purpose than this extended conversa-

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tion at the Foreign Ministry. We had brought to Moscow a document which urged the Soviet government to "take the initiative in presenting a program of reciprocally based action to extend and consolidate a true peace before all governments and particularly the governments of the great powers," and then formulated seven points which such a program might include. These were: (1) restraint upon hostile propaganda; (2) permission for a measured opening up of intercourse on a non-political basis through visits and correspondence between professional groups and individuals in the Soviet Union and the countries of the West; (3) the giving of pledges, on a reciprocal basis, of non-intervention, in action or in spirit, directly or indirectly, in the internal affairs of non-Communist countries; (4) a new approach to disarmament discussions, with greater flexibility as regards methods of disarming; (5) cooperation in a world plan for mutual economic aid so long as the plan was used to promote and not to prevent desirable social change in "backward" areas; (6) willingness to facilitate the early admission of waiting applicants for membership in the United Nations and to consult on ways and means of increasing the effectiveness of the U. N. as an instrument of peaceful cooperation between peoples; and (7) a renewed declaration of willingness to enter into great-power conversations at the highest level designed to secure agreement on the major principles embodied in the foregoing proposals.

IN THE course of an interview lasting in all three and a half hours Mr. Malik delivered to the seven of us, sitting around a large table in a room of the Ministry decorated solely with a portrait of Lenin, an evidently carefully prepared reply to our seven points, with some improvised comment. During a friendly half-hour's interval for refreshment we sought to press, beyond the formal answers given, our plea for East-West intercourse and our contention that fears in the West sprang not so much from any direct official Russian intervention in the internal affairs of non-Communist countries as from the subversive activities of native Communist parties which were believed to be controlled from the Kremlin. At this point Mr. Malik sent for the text of the statement made by Stalin to Roy Howard in 1936, which said: "The export of revolution is nonsense. Each country, if it wishes, will make its own revolution, but if it doesn't wish, there will be no revolution. For instance, our country wanted to make revolution and did really make it and now we are building up a classless society. But to assert that we are allegedly desirous of making revolution in other countries, interfering in their life, is to assert what does not exist in reality and what we have never professed." When we questioned whether this squared with events in Czechoslovakia in 1948, we were reminded that the Western powers betrayed that country at the time of the Munich crisis, with the inference that then and there the ultimate Communist revolution in Czechoslovakia became historically inevitable.

I would underline one other point in this interview. In reply to our suggestion that the Soviet Union should offer to cooperate in a mutual economic-aid plan to improve living standards, Mr. Malik recalled the principles enunciated by the Russian delegation to the U. N. in the course of the debate on the proposed twenty-year program for peace through the United Nations—a program which in the Soviet government's view should control relations between economically advanced and economically backward countries. My own view is that, taken at their face value, these principles have much to commend them. Whether that is so or not, we thought it right to urge that the Soviet government should take the lead in proposing a world-wide economic-aid plan based on these principles, in which the resources of the Soviet Union and the United States could be pooled for the benefit of mankind. And finally we urged that though the Soviet government might feel that it had already done all it could to promote peaceful agreements and that its efforts had been frustrated by the West, it should persist in trying to bring the great powers into conference on an agreed basis.

It is true that Mr. Malik's reply to the seven proposals was largely a restatement of policy declarations already made by the Soviet Union at the United Nations and elsewhere. Certainly at several points his reply was evasive, and no one would suggest that it carried us materially farther toward our goal. It could hardly have done so in the circumstances. But it is perhaps significant that in Moscow itself we were able to call on the Soviet government to initiate peaceful actions and that the government thought fit to treat our suggestions with considerable seriousness. Western observers in Moscow, who are hardly over-sanguine people, were much impressed by this treatment of the views of an unofficial group of persons from Great Britain. They were inclined to take it as yet another indication of a changing wind in the Soviet Union, bringing the possibility of more peaceful relations with the West.

IF I venture one or two observations, it must be understood that they are made with the knowledge that they leave much unsaid that would have to be taken into account in any thorough assessment of the situation. What we saw of Soviet life certainly showed us a people of vigor and resource justifiably proud of their achievements, looking forward with confidence to their future tasks, and obviously anxious to have the peaceful conditions necessary to carry them out. Whatever the purpose of the regime's intensive internal propaganda in favor of peace and great-power agreements, it unquestionably gets a whole-hearted response from the people. They want

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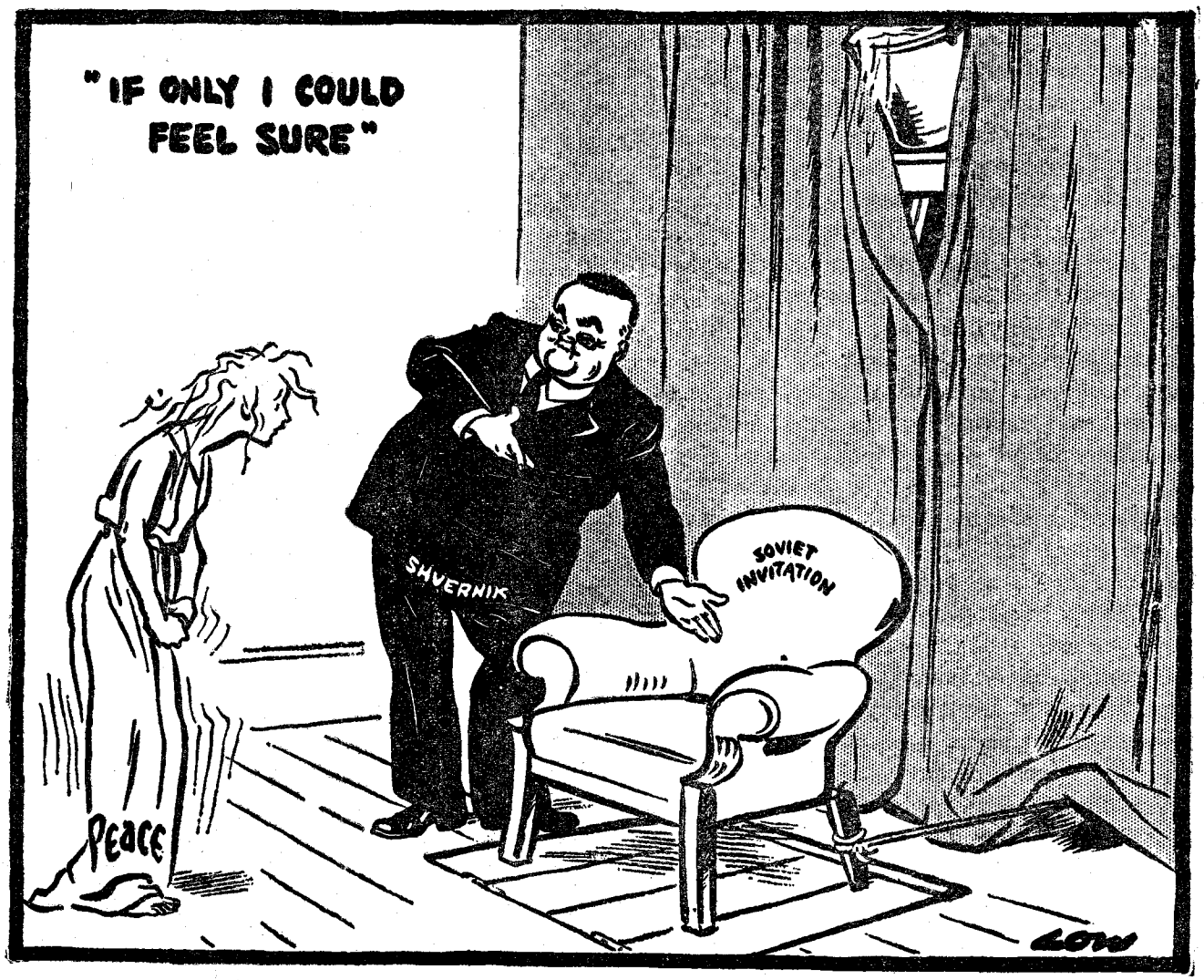
peace at least as much as the ordinary citizen of Britain or the United States. That is not to imply, of course, that the twelve men in the Kremlin are ready to abandon or modify aims and policies which, if persisted in, may ultimately make conflict with the West probable if not inevitable. But even they, bearing as they do the responsibility for an unprecedented social experiment, may well prefer to discharge it free from the threat or actuality of war.

I should like to make two final points. We in the West should guard against self-righteousness where our own peaceful intentions are concerned and should above all take care not to fall into the precise errors we attribute to the Russians. How often when we complained of belligerent Soviet press and radio propaganda, or of Russian inhospitality to Westerners, or of the lack of political freedom in the U. S. S. R.—how often were we reminded of wild talk by American Senators and newspapers, of the American and British governments' refusal of visas to Russians or irritating delay in issuing them, and of the penalizing of persons for unpopular political opinions. Of course we could and did explain some of these things and in any case could point out that they were manifestations of international tension. But such exchanges made this observer feel more forcibly than ever how important it is that we should not, in resisting what we deem to be evil, ourselves fall into that very evil.

Lastly, may I also stress the vital importance of rejecting the temptation to adopt an attitude of complete skepticism with respect to even the more favorable actions and assertions of the Russians? I am not suggesting that those who are convinced of the necessity of rearmament should or could abandon rearmament forthwith because Malik spent three or four hours discussing peace with the Quakers, or because a new Soviet journal takes an unusual and friendly tone toward the West, or because of any other sign or portent that may come along. But I am sure it is the devil's work to attribute a Machiavellian purpose to every good thing that comes out of the Soviet Union. Statesmen and others in the West have an inescapable obligation to welcome and to meet halfway any declaration or action on the part of the Russians which even superficially reflects a new spirit or has in it the possibility of being used in the interest of a genuine peace.



London *Daily Herald*

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Our "Racket" Society

BY ROBERT S. LYND

IT IS no inconsiderable part of wisdom," said Burke, "to know how much of an evil ought to be tolerated." His words point to a central responsibility of intellectuals: to appraise how seriously troublesome things should be taken, and to determine the precise nature of the options that exist for those seeking a way out of the difficulty.

In our society this process of intellectual appraisal is biased from the outset by the confidence with which Americans regard their institutions as unique, superior, and relatively final. We have no propensity for viewing ourselves and our institutions as in the melting pot of history. Misled by our good fortune in having the "American way" born coincidentally with the rise of modern industry and all our national life based on the settlement and development of an opulent new continent protected by its oceans from warring neighbors, we have ridden the tide of "progress" and come to endow all we are and do with a quality of invulnerability.

Thus we simply do not ask—the weather of opinion in this country would make it seem silly and unpatriotic—such long-range questions as: Can democracy be saved and revitalized? (The London *Economist* in its centennial issue of September 4, 1943, said, "Democracy in the twentieth century needs fire in its belly.") Is capitalism—that historical combination of "free competition" and "private enterprise" which business strategists today have conveniently cleansed and condensed into the "free enterprise" system—is capitalism from here on inevitably an increasingly uncooperative partner of democracy? Is the major movement in industrial society everywhere today away from "liberalism," with alternatives limited to a business-dominated planning fascism and an all-out planning socialism?

At whatever hazard to the asker, these questions must, I believe, be asked. And it is in their terms that a phenomenon like the Kefauver report, so ably discussed by H. H. Wilson in *The Nation* of July 21, must be analyzed. For if questions of the sort I have suggested are indeed in order, they undercut the familiar liberal fly-swatter techniques of investigations—Congressional or private—remedial legislation, and reliance on the moral indignation of "good" citizens.

I believe that our tendency to view our institutions and their problems as separate things to be worked at piecemeal has blinded us to the need, now become acute, to view American society as an interacting whole and to ask: What kind of society do we want to be *as a whole society?* What real options to attain that end do we have? And what changes are necessary to realize the choice we elect?

Middle-class individualism has tried the novel and precarious experiment of hanging a large society together primarily by $'s. This formula evoked prodigies of energy in an era when men moved out more or less single-handed over an empty continent. No need was felt to view this thin, spreading web of national life as in any important sense a collective enterprise. As a matter of fact, liberal democracy never envisaged, was not equipped for, the stating of positive collective purposes. Where we were going as a whole society was seen as the sum of our private short-run aims; to take care of longer-run goals "progress" was manifestly "happening," and we had only to throw the reins on the nag's back and let him move ahead. Our national purpose has been rediscovered anew at the end of each year, when the statistics revealed where our millions of striving enterprisers had gone during the past twelve months.

Such a theory of society may work in small communities living a basically self-contained existence. But today we are a society of 150,000,000 people living a highly interdependent urbanized existence with extreme division of labor. We are, in fact, a collective society in our functional interdependence, and national and personal welfare depends upon increasingly coordinated action to predefined collective ends. But our institutions and associated traditions, stemming from the middle-class break-away from centralized controls, have deterred us from attempting to state, let alone to implement, the potentials and conditions of the positive use of democratic power for democratic ends. As a result we still plunge along on the theory of "each for himself and God for all of us, as the elephant said as he danced among the chickens."

Reports like those of the Kefauver committee, the Temporary National Economic Committee, and the La Follette committee, repeated investigations of Congressional lobbying, and other largely helpless investigatory gestures by government agencies have shown how the elephants, both rogue and semi-tamed, have grown and luxuriated in the green pastures of power left vacant by democracy. Today we as a nation, our Congress, and our institutions are afraid of, and thrown into a posture of deference before, these private powers—organized

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business, organized professions, organized labor, organized patriotism, organized religion.

Organized action is essential, increasingly so as a society grows in size and in specialization of function. But democracy has never attended to the problem of how to organize itself. Even our political parties arose as an *ad hoc* afterthought. The casual assumption has been that "if and when people feel the need to organize, they will do so." We take humorous confidence from the fact that we are called "a nation of joiners." But one has only to look at the poverty of organization around the vital consumer interest, in comparison with the organization of big business and of big professions, as in the American Medical Association, to realize that our "reins-on-the-nag's-back" theory of social organization leads to seriously askew results. It takes more than manifest need to create effective organization. The building of popular "fronts"—called, ironically, "backing"—is an increasingly competitive industry in which "to him that hath shall be given"; for the mass-organization "game" today is big, expensive business run by high-priced professionals.

THE upshot of all this is that we live in what Otto Kirchheimer has called a "racket stage of society." And this welter of private power, as it becomes tactically smarter, operates increasingly by indirection and secrecy, for as Tawney has remarked, "the great beasts of the jungle do not hunt by daylight." Big corporations today, for instance, are learning fast and do not intend again to be caught and publicized by a La Follette committee. This shift from the use of naked power is well reflected in *Fortune*, with its editorial policy of persuading big business to save its privacy by muting or changing some of its publicly aggravating tactics. Problem for the Front Office, for example, in the May issue offers this plausible case for the big corporation:

> To a small but growing school [of corporate executives] the goal of the corporation has become the corporation itself. Its welfare has now become the great factor in so many lives, the argument goes, that the executive's No. 1 job must be to keep the corporation in a state of equilibrium; to so lubricate it that it gives meaning and satisfaction to those within it. Profits, in this view, serve only as measures of the health of the organization, not as ends in themselves.

But how the profits do roll in! It is reported from an informed source, though I cannot vouch for this, that General Motors could afford to undercut the low-price-car field by selling Chevrolets at $300 to $400 below present prices. Everybody, big and little, is caught in the momentum of the racket: the big ones fear to reveal their monopoly power lest they attract anti-trust lightning, while the rest of us who are not on the "inside" sweat out this inflated "American way" with emulous secret hopes for our ten shares of General Motors.

This cumulating "racket" quality of private power in American life defeats efforts to strengthen the democratic process. Not only are private interests increasingly manipulating public opinion and diverting attention from democratically important issues with such false slogans as "The free-enterprise system is the basis of all our democratic freedoms"; but, ultimately more dangerous, all of us are being psychologically turned against such rationalizing steps as national economic planning by the contagious preoccupation with "getting a break," cutting in on a racket of our own. We tolerate and secretly approve breaches in the strict rule of law or in "democracy" because we so passionately hope to escape our social fate through "getting to know the right people" and thus "getting in on something good."

Few are exempt from this poison, precisely because the pressures on the individual, lost in a vast *sauve qui peut* society, are so great and his insecurity so continuous. Robert Michels' "Political Parties" is a sobering book, not because his "iron law of oligarchy" is, as he claims, inevitable, but because it warns us that in a "racket" society of personalized aggression and self-defense it is too much to expect democratic, group-oriented behavior from the bureaucracies of even socialist organizations. A Wagner act squeezes through Congress as a guilty concession to the unorganized victims of a great

POINT OF HONOR

What sort of precept is it for cadets in the United States army to see one general in the army taking bribes and another accepting favors? Or to look at a long-honored member of Congress, whose responsibility was to supervise their army and their Point, betraying his trust?

Yet this is not the worst of it. The worst precepts are not crimes, for these will always occur, but the precepts of dubious honor condoned in the name of loyalty and friendship.

What should young men learn from the cronies of men in high places who receive fur coats and home freezers from political leaders who serve on double pay rolls, from public servants who unashamedly give favors of public moneys for favors received—cronies who do all this and find no disfavor because friendship is a greater virtue than honor?

When such things are, we must still grieve, but we ought not to be surprised that young men should think that friendship to a comrade-in-arms is a greater virtue than a little matter of formal honor on an examination.

(From an editorial in the *Wall Street Journal*, August 8, 1951.)

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depression; but it results in more big unions, which join in the going fight on the terms set by the prevailing power system. Labor's problem here, in Britain, and elsewhere is whether it will, and can, rally the nation to a new and more genuine version of democracy "with fire in its belly," or will become the junior partner of big business and complacently take its cut from the common racket.

NOW such a situation of ramified disorder and insecurity is not hopeless. But it cannot be changed by superficial measures. And private power does not intend to allow major surgery. Besides, who, what, exists in the United States that sees, let alone is prepared to carry through, the major operation the situation requires?

One of our critical weaknesses inheres in the fact that the potential "organ for thinking through and ahead" represented by the social sciences and other socially oriented intellectuals, on all levels down to the public-school teacher and the newspaper reporter, has so largely abdicated its role or been intimidated into silence. As a nation we have been propagandized and coerced to see the enemy as abroad, not here at home. And tactics inspired, as they can only be, by our domestic confusion dictate a foreign policy, with resulting orientation of all of us, that cumulatively encourages unreality in our appraisal of "what is wrong."

In our present anxiety and self-preoccupation, help is not likely to come from within ourselves or from our plunging institutions. The democratic wing—and I do not mean those who identify democracy with the free-enterprise system—is fighting a losing fight. This fight must go on, because it is important to keep the issues identified and to maintain living contact with the possibilities of the future. But the great issue of our time, and man's hope in our time, probably lies overseas, where half the people of the earth are struggling to their feet from feudalism and colonialism. Unfortunately, Americans, despite our brave Point Four words, are against this momentous forward push. We want things our own way, and we cannot see, in the calculated twilight in which we are forced to live, that this is one of the historic periods of institutional change, when forgotten men are taking their fate into their own hands. In such a great moment all that our democratic experience inspires in us as a nation is the demand that the rest of the world fall into the trap in which we are caught.

As we fight our rear-guard fight, doing what we can, long time is on the side of democratic values. But the new tide will probably have to flow back to us from beyond the seas. Asia, Eastern Europe, Africa, if they can escape our net and also avoid an iron-clad bureaucratic set-up, may evolve new patterns of a living, collectively oriented democracy that might persuade us Americans to resume our own march forward toward a way of life we can respect and in which we can again respect ourselves.

The Germans Debate Rearmament

BY MARK GAYN

Düsseldorf, August

IT WILL take years of scrubbing and whitewashing to erase the anti-war slogans from the walls of German towns. You see them on factory fences in the Ruhr, in the Berlin subways, on the ruins facing the western zone of Berlin ("This building was destroyed by American bombers in December, 1944. Never again!"), and even on the macadam of highways. *"Ohne Uns!"* they scream, or "*Ami* [Americans], Go Home!"

East German radio stations saturate the air waves with passionate appeals to "Fight for Peace." In the coal towns of the Ruhr the tough and aggressive Communist Youth Organization, defying a police ban, stages mass-meetings to protest against West German remilitarization. In Hamburg 2,000 individuals pay a mark each for "neutral passports," put out by something called the "Freedom League" and proclaiming their bearers' intention to remain neutral in any East-West conflict. And on the famous Potsdamer Platz in Berlin I have myself listened to a familiar cowboy song emanating from an oversized loudspeaker mounted on the Communist side of the boundary. The only novel twist about the song was its chorus, *"Ami,* Go Home!"

Such antics have helped to create the impression that the *"Ohne Mich"* movement is a Communist creation. It is not. The Communists have preempted this popular cause, as they have so many others. Their purpose is simply to thwart the creation of a West German army; the East German vote against remilitarization is obviously not meant to apply to Soviet troops or to the "People's Police." One hears of no "Russ, Go Home" signs in East Germany; in fact, the other day a youth was given a severe prison term for daubing on the wall the seditious word "Freedom."

Early last spring one of the eleven top leaders of the German Federation of Labor here showed me a thick

THIS is the second of three articles by Mr. Gayn on Germany Today. The third will deal with the boom in the Ruhr and the struggle between labor and the industrialists.

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file of demands for an unequivocal stand against a new army. "I grant," he said, "the Communists are also against rearmament. But all these messages come from workers' mass-meetings and Works Councils most of which are dominated by Socialists. The people simply don't want to see Germany rearmed."

Behind the German attitude lies fear. Battle reports from Korea are eagerly followed. When news was black, the anti-rearmament feeling increased noticeably: if the Allies could not wipe out a second-stringer in Korea they could hardly be a match for the first team in Europe. The greatest fear is that the West could not, would not even try to, halt the Red Army on the Elbe. This fear has been fed by tales of Soviet military power that refugees have brought back from Poland and Prussia, by the inadequacy of the Western forces here, and by the reports of the mining of German bridges. Bankers, workers, and politicians alike believe that any rearmament move, unbacked by an adequate Allied force, would provoke Russia into swift retaliation. One expression of this fear has been the practice among men of substance of secretly insuring themselves against the day of Red conquest by donations to the Communists.

LABOR and Social Democratic circles see another reason for concern. Anxiously watching the rise of neo-Nazism and its efforts to tie up with veterans' groups, many thoughtful leftists think the new army might become a monster, allied with the neo-Nazis and independent of Bonn. Caught between its dread of a Soviet invasion and its equally strong fear of a rebirth of militarism, the German Federation of Labor has been squatting on the fence for many months.

This does not mean confusion in labor minds but only a sober appreciation of the problem and of the difficulty of getting the right answer. After months of soul-searching, the federation—represented by its new president, Christian Fette—finally came out in June with an indorsement of a German army, with certain guaranties. Not long ago I had a talk with one of the men who helped draft this indorsement. He had spent the Nazi years in exile and is thoroughly pro-Western in his sympathies. His views provided a needed counterpoint to Fette's statement. He said in effect:

> When you speak of remilitarization to an average German today he thinks of several things. He feels, in the first place, that he has had enough of war. I should have never thought it, but the Germans no longer like to play soldiers. Secondly, a war means civil war for Germany, and we hate the idea. Thirdly, the Germans are fed up with the former military leaders. Bonn could get any number of mercenary soldiers, especially among the refugees from the East, but the West could hardly depend on them to defend democracy.
>
> Now consider Western policy. How can the West demand remilitarization and at the same time dismantle our factories? How can the West say that it would defend Germany on the Rhine, or in Paris, or in the Pyrenees? New Yorkers would flee if you told them you expected to defend the United States along the Mississippi. And why do you say you'll be ready by 1953? What about 1952? Must you rearm France first so that it will have no fear of a remilitarized Germany?
>
> Are we expected to fight a rear-guard action for the Americans? You should have sent half a million soldiers here and then begun to rebuild the German army. What we want is a genuine European army. We fear our generals, and we would much prefer to see German units under the command of foreign generals. They are no threat to democracy here. Our answer to bolshevism is no. But we have no political philosophy in combating communism today; we only have fear. Some of us think we can stop communism if we get enough arms; others put their faith in neutralism; still others take to drink. But we haven't been able to produce a creative, progressive idea for which our people—especially the workers—would fight. Perhaps the nearest thing we have to a philosophy is that we don't want to be a satellite of either Russia or America.

One can assume that this widespread reluctance to rearm was one reason why Washington dropped so hastily its proposal to create a new German army. A mercenary army could have been recruited. But it would not only have lacked public support but have become an explosive political issue. Dr. Kurt Schumacher's Socialists scored important gains in provincial elections on precisely this question.

THE latest attempt to exploit the anti-rearmament sentiment was made last June in the Communist "national plebiscite," in which everyone above the age of sixteen was asked whether he was against Germany's remilitarization and for a peace treaty this year. The campaign was launched last January, when Otto Grotewohl told the Communist *Volkskammer* that the plebiscite was "the most important ever." The stunt had both Bonn and the Allies in a tizzy, for the question was so loaded that it could not but give the Communists the answer they wanted. Nearly everyone obviously was against remilitarization, as nearly everyone is against hunger. The problem was finally settled by banning the "referendum" in West Germany. The Communists went ahead in the east zone and obtained the scheduled 96 per cent majority.

It can already be doubted that they would have obtained the same overwhelming majority in the western zones. There are numerous signs of a slow but profound change in West German opinion. Christian Fette's statement, mentioned above, is certainly such a sign. Even more definite are the latest opinion soundings taken by High Commissioner John J. McCloy's Office of

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Public Affairs. These intelligently worded surveys have enabled the Americans to keep a close tab on public opinion in their zone and must have been responsible for Washington's decision not to press for a German army last fall. In recent weeks the polls have been indicating a different attitude.

It is now announced that for the first time those ready to accept the creation of an army outnumber those opposed. (Sentiment used to run three to one against.) These figures can be broken down in social terms. Remilitarization, for instance, is favored by people with good incomes more than by workers, by right-wing parties more than by Social Democrats, by city dwellers more than by farmers, by men more than by women. Western Berlin is for rearmament four to one any day in the week, even though most of its people vote Socialist. The reason is obvious. Berlin is a daily eyewitness of communism in action, and its decision is emotional.

When the Germans are given a number of choices instead of a categorical "Are you for or against remilitarization?" the findings become still more interesting. Fear of war remains a stable and dominant factor, and there is a vast yearning for neutrality, but an increasing number of West Germans now concede that they cannot remain neutral and that a choice must be made. Roughly three Germans in five would settle for German participation in an Atlantic Pact army—the shift is particularly striking among the better-educated and better-fed people, who in 1949 were saying "a plague on both your houses." But this majority shrinks rapidly when the Germans are asked if they are for a draft, or if they are willing to pay higher occupation costs for a bigger Allied force in Germany.

What it boils down to is this: while last fall the creation of a German army might have caused an uproar, today it would be accepted—with reluctance, but accepted. The way, therefore, is open for the Allies to press the issue. The big questions now are whether the army is to be big enough to protect itself; whether it is to be a German army commanded by German generals; whether it would want to fight; and whether in a crisis German soldiers would be capable of individual sacrifice, as most Russians would certainly be.

THERE are many reasons for the German change of mind. One is the wave of Allied successes in Korea since General MacArthur's dismissal. Another is the steady arrival of American and British troops and their display in parades and maneuvers, one purpose of which is to impress the Germans with the strength of the Allies and their determination to hold on here. A third reason is the growing belief among better-educated West Germans that they have no choice but to side with the West. A fourth is the spectacular rise of neo-Nazism, with its fervent appeal to patriotism.

The sudden reappearance of ex-servicemen's groups shows how the wind is blowing. At the reunion of the Gross Deutschland Panzer Korps in Kassel in June some 800 ex-officers and men heard a succession of speakers recall their military victories. The keynoter was General von Manteuffel, who said that the German soldier had a useful contribution to make to public life and only "asked to be permitted to help in the building of a Europe united against communism." But, the General added, it was about time for the West to make up its mind. "They cannot treat the German soldier as an ally and an enemy at the same time. We belong to the Western community, but we distrust the maneuvers of Western politicians." The rally, one suspects, was inspired by the rightist Free Democratic Party, in which von Manteuffel is active. One can also see this party's hand behind the forthcoming reunion of the Afrika Korps, the call for which was issued in the name of Marshal Rommel's chief of staff.

The psychological climate is favorable, and the blueprints are ready, prepared by Chancellor Adenauer's military aides. Bonn plans at the moment an army of 250,000, presumably volunteer at the start. In its talks with Paris in July it was adamant against the French proposal for "combat teams" and demanded the normal organization—divisional and corps units fully equipped with tanks, artillery, and tactical aircraft. The equipment will doubtless come from the West, though one already hears talk of making at least the lighter weapons right here in the Ruhr. It begins to look as if the main obstacle to a German army were no longer popular opposition but inter-Allied squabbles, American clumsiness, and Bonn's efforts to win other political and economic concessions by holding out on rearmament.

Once an army is in being, one can assume that people in general will begin to take interest and perhaps pride in it. The labor leader I quoted above may think that the Germans no longer want to play soldiers, but the scores of young men to whom I have talked all over West Germany sounded as if they would not mind. For many restless youth in the grimy Ruhr towns or in the distressed northwest this, in fact, is the most tempting opportunity in sight.

It is idle to consider the moral effect of the revival of the German army while so many millions of Germans still think wistfully of the Hitler days and while repentance and a sense of guilt are notably absent. But some of the dangers inherent in Germany's rearmament should be pointed out. One will be the temptation to keep expanding the new Wehrmacht until it again becomes the dominant military power in Europe this side of the Communist world. Another is the distinct possibility that the worried civilians in Bonn will be unable to control their generals. Finally, there is the frightening likelihood of a new alliance between the generals and the unrepentant Nazis. It is this last thought that gives nightmares to labor leaders here.

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BOOKS and the ARTS

No Trip to the Moon—Yet

ROCKETS, MISSILES, AND SPACE TRAVEL. By Willy Ley. The Viking Press. $5.95.

IN 1862 Jules Verne's hero shot a projectile to the moon, using a gun barrel 900 feet long and a charge of 400,000 pounds of guncotton. It took four days to reach its destination, and the account, at the time, sounded reasonably convincing. Today, says the author of the present book, a rocket to the moon is not far outside the range of physical possibility, but we know that if Jules Verne's experiment had been tried, his projectile, to the vast surprise of everybody, would have risen perhaps a hundred feet and fallen to the ground about the same distance from the muzzle. These facts give a fair indication of the progress made during less than a hundred years in the theory and practice of "space travel."

Mr. Ley, who belonged to the little group of pre-war German rocket enthusiasts, offers in this volume an introduction to the history and elementary theory of rocket design. The history runs from the probable invention of a military weapon by the Chinese sometime before 1232 A.D. down through the recent experiments at White Sands, where in 1949 a double or two-stage rocket rose 250 miles and thus reached into what may fairly be called "space" as distinguished from the atmospheric envelope of the earth. The theory includes the simplest mathematical statement of the fundamental principles.

As offensive weapons rockets were in common use in the early nineteenth century, and it is to them that "the rockets' red glare" refers. But they dropped out of use because they were not so effective as projectiles, and the new developments are possible less because of new materials than because, as in the case of the airplane, design is no longer empirical but based upon sound theoretical knowledge. It is perfectly possible to calculate—though far from possible to realize in construction—the characteristics of a rocket which would, say, reach Mars.

An impossible *gun* which could launch a projectile with a muzzle velocity of seven miles per second would have reached the "escape velocity" at which the missile would be carried beyond the grip of the earth's gravity. But though it is impossible to conceive how such a gun could be constructed, the problem of rockets is different. Here it is principally a question of two things: "mass ratio," which means the ratio of the total weight of the rocket to its weight after the fuel has been consumed; and "exhaust velocity," which is a characteristic of the propellant. If, for instance, you want to know how close a given rocket will come to escaping from the earth's gravity you can consult a formula—which looks worse than it is—and which reads "mass ratio equals e to the v-over-c power," v being the rocket's velocity, c the exhaust velocity, and e a constant somewhat less well known popularly than *pi* but likely to turn up almost as often in calculations.

In actual rocket design the mass ratios and the exhaust velocities realized have been getting better and better. No rocket actually constructed has ever achieved "escape velocity," but it has been approached closely enough so that Mr. Ley feels safe in saying that it does not look very far away. Nevertheless, and fortunately or unfortunately according to one's point of view, that does not mean that general space travel is probable in the immediate future.

Putting aside all the problems of sustaining life under the conditions to be met inside rockets and outside the earth's atmosphere, there is a vast difference between what would be required to send a missile ("moon messenger" Mr. Ley calls it) to the moon and what would be required of one which would carry a man and make a return journey. Moreover, even that would be child's play compared to an attempt to send a "messenger" to Mars. Since the moon is close enough to the earth to be part of the same system, we could get to it without meeting any significant change in the effect of the sun's gravitational pull, but nothing could reach any of the planets without expending a vast amount of energy in moving from one orbit to another. If, in other words, the engineers should decide to put their minds to the task, you and I might live to hear that astronomers had been able to detect through telescopes the white splash on the moon's surface made by some chalk sent in a rocket from the earth. But not even our children are likely to visit interplanetary space except via the pages of the comic books—unless, of course, a manageable atomic fuel should make the impossible possible.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

"The Run to the Sea"

PATERSON (BOOK FOUR). By William Carlos Williams. New Directions. $3.

THE publication of Book Four, entitled "The Run to the Sea," completes Dr. Williams's long poem and is, I believe, an event of primary importance in American literature. "Paterson," in the first place, is a poem intense, complicated, and absorbing, one of the best illustrations of the concision of poetry that I know; a prosaic paraphrase of its ideas and attitudes would occupy many hundreds of pages. And in the second place, "Paterson" is the major work—it has been so announced—of a poet who has already achieved great distinction as an American author, a poet who has demonstrated often his ability to write well. There can be no question that in the years ahead "Paterson" will receive the close attention of the critics, whatever may be the outcome of their deliberations, and here in this first, short notice of the poem, my most useful service will be a limited one—a statement of the superficial responses that occur on a first reading of "Paterson" and a forecast of some of the problems that will attract the critics in their more prolonged scrutiny.

One of the first accomplishments that strike a reader who has read through the four books of "Paterson" is the ease and naturalness on the one hand and the compactness and com-

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pleteness on the other which Dr. Williams has given to the symbols, or, as he would prefer to call them, the *objects,* of his poem. In this respect, it is instructive, albeit somewhat risky, to compare "Paterson" with other long poems of our time—"The Bridge," say, and "The Waste Land." One sees immediately that whereas those two poems were written by young men, "Paterson" is the work of a poet who has lived with his material for many years; his thoughts, complex though they are, are altogether familiar to him, almost instinctive. With a minimum of juggling, fixing, and contriving—such as shows through here and there in both the other poems—Dr. Williams obtains a maximum of work from his objects. They have many values, many extensions; yet they are precisely related at all levels. In spite of his assertion several times in "Paterson" that a "whole poem" is impossible, he has obviously had the whole poem in mind all along, and he has constructed it around objects which are as complex and powerful and consistent at the beginning as at the end.

The interpretation of these objects—the city, the park, the falls, the elements, the man with a dog, the flower, the crow, and so on and so on—will be one of the critics' jobs; it will be neither an easy job nor a job that one man can hope to accomplish by himself. Yet the main theme is clear. Modern society has been divorced from its healthy and natural sources by the corruptions of church, state, commerce, and education; we can be saved only through language, a new language, a newly *invented* language, which will be free from the traditions of intellectual society and will constitute an act of marriage with nature as it appears in the earth, in men and women, and in ourselves. In other words, the poet can save us if we will listen. Two objections can be raised to this theme: first, that it is "untrue"; second, that it is worn out. To the former I should reply that this theme may be untrue and even perilous, but like any genuine emotional response, it is a valid subject for a work of art and is proved to be so by the existence of the work of art itself. And in response to the second objection, I should admonish us to remember that this theme has been worn out—at least in our time—by poets younger than Dr. Williams, those who have come after him and have lacked his skill and his vision. Certainly "Paterson," whatever its defects may be, is as fresh and vigorous as any critic could ask.

The great questions raised by "Paterson" are technical ones, and this in itself should have a momentous effect on contemporary criticism, our science of nebulosities—if, that is, the critics will meet the challenge. The question of prosody, for instance: Can a poet, as Dr. Williams contends, invent a new poetic language, free from traditional meters, free even from traditional syntax, based solely on contemporary American speech? Is the American ear truly as anti-European or as anti-classical as all that? We need many essays, good ones, on this subject. Furthermore, the question of structure, especially Dr. Williams's use of prose passages. These occur frequently. They are documentary—letters, newspaper clippings, medical records, and the like—and they are well chosen and interesting. But one does not want to read them twice. Do they derive literary value from their juxtaposition with verse? Is this not perhaps carrying the catalogue-of-ships device too far? Can a poem survive in the public mind which contains so much unquotable—that is, unrememberable—material?

A word should be said about Book Four itself. Unfortunately, it seems to me less satisfactory than the preceding books. It is less well integrated and gives the impression of having been more hurriedly written. It begins with a mock pastoral, satiric and sardonic in intent. The middle section concerns the paradox of science that both heals and destroys, and it contains also a digression on the similar faculties of money and credit. The final part is a long lyric of recollection; Paterson, the man-city, remembers the many murders that have occurred and thinks of the sea of blood toward which his people are flowing. All these phases refer to aspects of the previous books. The poem ends with a last picture of the poet who bathes harmlessly and carelessly in the sea.

Among the lines of an episode about his son, the poet gives us, in Book Four, this parenthetical prose sentence: "(What I miss, said your mother, is the poetry, the pure poem of the first parts.)" This happens to be a true statement, for the final parts of "Paterson" do not have the lyric intensity of the two first books. But my reason for quoting it here is not to illustrate something about the quality of the poem but rather to give an instance of something that Dr. Williams does over and over again and to point out another, rather unusual problem for the critics. Dr. Williams utterly destroys the convenient fiction that the poet and the man are separable. What are we to say honestly about this sentence except that the poet is giving us a criticism of his own poem, made by his wife? Such intimacies occur often, some of them much more pointed than this, all of them expressed in the most direct manner. Nothing could be more precisely contrary to the common practice of poets who think they are more important than themselves and therefore give themselves, even when they are dealing with obviously personal experience, a larger character and a more public decorum than the individual can claim in reality. Dr. Williams is more unassuming and more difficult. For this practice has several effects: it obstructs our understanding, since most of us are not lucky enough to know the poet; it embarrasses the critics, who do not want to discuss such matters even if they can; and it restricts the applicability of the poem's meaning, which is much broader than the personal.

"Paterson" has been called a "personal epic." I think this is a contradiction in terms, and I should prefer to call it a long, often superlatively good, lyrical meditation. Parts of it will seem to every reader both puzzling and foolish, yet in the end it becomes an expression of mature and convincing emotion, a poem in a versatile language that is often beautiful.

HAYDEN CARRUTH

Britain's Fall from Grace

ENGLAND: PAST, PRESENT, AND FUTURE. By Douglas Jerrold. W. W. Norton and Company. $4.

THIS is not a history of England in the usual sense. It is a review of the political landmarks and historical forces that made Britain the world's greatest empire in the nineteenth century, reduced it to a junior Anglo-American partnership in the twentieth, and pre-

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sented it with those foreign and domestic problems it is trying to solve today. The author, who edits the *New English Review*, is a post-war "Conservative of the new school." He considers socialism an unworkable program that outrages the very wellsprings of human nature. For similar reasons, he has little use for the welfare state. He believes that if England has come to grief it is not because the private-property system is wrong in itself but because British rulers divorced free enterprise from social justice. He tries to show that England rose to greatness in the thirteenth and eighteenth centuries, when its leaders acted with moral and social responsibility, and that it fell from grace and power when its leaders, having repudiated moral controls, failed to check the material forces by which wealth accumulates and men decay.

The first twelve chapters survey England's political development from pre-Stonehenge days to the present time. Though an avowed enemy of socialism, Mr. Jerrold makes full use of the economic interpretation of history, and in his hands this method yields brilliant and highly unconventional accounts of historic turning-points. Thus, in the case of the Norman conquest, he explodes the Ivanhoe myth which pictures the patriotic Saxon writhing beneath the terrible war machine of William the Conqueror. His substitute version is that the Saxon landowner, who had led a dog's life under the feeble rule of the kings of Wessex, cordially welcomed the Duke of Normandy as the only royal claimant strong enough to protect Saxon property from Welsh freebooters and Danish marauders. Coming to King John, we learn that Magna Charta was not the foundation of Anglo-Saxon liberty the schoolbooks declare it to be. It was a thoroughly reactionary document that enabled the top-dog barons to pass the buck—the cost of government—to the little man of that day, the country knight and the city trader.

A third instance of the triumph of money over morals appears in the history of the Bank of England. "In 1694," says Mr. Jerrold, "our capacity for effective intervention in war had been established by the foundation of the Bank of England. The City [England's Wall Street] realized that by lending money to the government it could . . . control the policy of the government over an indefinite period." This is straight from the handle. The Bank of England was established, not, as the public was then told, to enable the government to control the money-lenders, but to enable the money-lenders to control the government.

In the concluding chapters Mr. Jerrold drives home his theme. Because England sowed the wind by devoting itself to Mammon instead of to God, it reaped the whirlwind in a couple of global wars which in the end left it with two hateful problems: the cold war with Russia abroad, and the drive for the welfare state at home. The author regards the two problems as different aspects of the one problem of a free community. In defining freedom he avoids rhetorical contrasts between the cruel tyranny of Moscow and the long-suffering gentleness of Washington and London, and comes down to Tory brass tacks with refreshing candor. The free peoples, he declares, hold that private property and free enterprise are essential to the fulfilment of deep-seated needs of human nature. It is the denial of these needs, and the destruction of the institutions which satisfy them, that makes Russia the arch-enemy of mankind.

To the Socialist objection that there are still more deep-seated needs of human evolution which the competitive system stifles, Mr. Jerrold offers no other reply than to repeat that free enterprise is a fundamental condition of civilized life. It is therefore no surprise to find that he is hardly more attracted to the American welfare state, pivoted on free enterprise, than to the British welfare state headed for socialism. His strong suspicion is that the free-enterprise element in the Truman state will soon be obliterated by the soulless power of the bureaucrats who administer the social services. Mr. Jerrold has no ready-made solution for the prevailing crisis. He feels certain that if a strong

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Western Union stands heavily armed from the Rhine to the Danube, Russia will not turn the cold war into a shooting war. As to the domestic problem, he demands a moral and social regeneration that will turn England into a nation of small property-owners and producers grouped into guilds or corporations like those in the golden age of the thirteenth century. It reminds one of Chesterton's distributive state. In such a corporate economy the free enterprise of the individual would be subject only or chiefly to the disciplinary control of his own professional guild. There is surely much that is generous and admirable in this medieval dream, forgetful though it is that the guild system was based on serfdom. But can the world build its future on dreams of its past?

Mr. Jerrold advocates the new conservatism with passionate sincerity. Perhaps he is a little too sure that *his* verities are the eternal ones. But he fights a clean, hard-hitting fight that never descends to abuse or rancor. Intelligent people of all parties should read his book to learn which way the Conservative winds are blowing.

FELIX GRENDON

Short Story Annual

THE BEST AMERICAN SHORT STORIES OF 1951. Edited by Martha Foley, assisted by Joyce F. Hartman. Houghton Mifflin Company. $3.75.

IT HAS become something of a game for reviewers of the annual short-story anthologies to spot trends. Either they view the short story as a microcosm and proceed to draw conclusions from it as to the state of the world, or they deduce literary tendencies solely from the types of stories that have been anthologized. Even the latter more modest activity would seem pretty risky for anyone less familiar with the total American product than Martha Foley, who is herself hesitant to say more than that current short stories seem to be increasingly concerned with basic moral problems in a way that is almost Victorian.

I must confess that I can discern no trends in the newest Best Short Story annual. It does include the kind of thing that one would expect: a mannered Tennessee Williams story in his usual fruit-and-nut-cake style, a horror story by Shirley Jackson, and the customary New Yorker pieces treating of middle-class anxieties (the best by far is Hortense Calisher's In Greenwich There Are Many Gravelled Walks). There are also a number of sketches from a child's viewpoint—apparently a perennially interesting problem for short-story writers—and quite a few "regional" stories, of which William Goyen's Her Breath upon the Windowpane, actually an excerpt from his novel "The House of Breath," stands out as a subtle and beautifully executed description of a lonely old maid.

The best stories in this collection are those which, like Goyen's, or Bernard Malamud's The Prison (a bitter little vignette of depression life in a candy store), or R. V. Cassill's Larchmoor Is Not the World (dealing with the seamier side of academic life), yield fresh insights into themes that have hitherto seemed used up because of the hackneyed way in which they have been handled by less talented writers.

Miss Foley's prefatory comments are very much to the point. She has included only one story from the large-circulation magazines because their editors now rely on statistical "reader surveys" rather than on their individual editorial judgment, with a consequent deterioration in the quality of their fiction. The literary quarterlies on the other hand are printing so much writing about writing that they have very little space left for new fiction. The reader—and the writer—interested in serious short fiction must therefore turn to such college periodicals as Cornell's *Epoch* and Carlton College's *Furioso*. Miss Foley deserves our thanks for bringing these pertinent facts to the attention of her large audience.

HARVEY SWADOS

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Records

B. H. HAGGIN

OF THE two LP records in RCA Victor's Treasury of Immortal Performances devoted to instrumentalists, Genius at the Keyboard offers a bad performance by Rosenthal and several undistinguished ones by de Pachmann and Paderewski, a sober Schweitzer performance of Bach, Prokofiev's excellent performances of four of his "Visions Fugitives," and Rachmaninov's individual and often magnificent playing in one of his Etudes Tableaux, his most popular Prelude, and a Schubert Impromptu. And aside from two Bach transcriptions beautifully played by Casals, Magic Strings offers inconsequential little pieces played by Casals, Kreisler, Elman, and Segovia.

The proper comment was made by a reader who wrote: "Instead of fooling around with odds and ends they'd do better to couple, say, Casals playing Beethoven's Sonata Opus 69 on one record with Kreisler and Rachmaninov playing Beethoven's Opus 30 No. 3. Then we'd hear them at their best, playing music that's worth buying." But when I spoke of this to a Victor executive—mentioning additional immortal performances like those by Cortot, Thibaud, and Casals of Schubert and Beethoven trios, by Schnabel of Mozart concertos—he answered that the "odds and ends" were what the public had demanded, by the evidence of previous sales and present requests, and that the recordings I had mentioned would be reissued if there were a similar demand, of which there had been as yet no manifestation.

It is true that by the time the Cortot-Thibaud-Casals recordings were withdrawn public interest, as indicated by sales figures, had become saddeningly small. But I contend it is no less true that if they were reissued in a Treasury of Immortal Performances series and thus newly brought to the public's attention as something of outstanding artistic and historical importance, interest and sales would be stimulated. Victor has done exactly that with some of the things on the Treasury records for which I cannot imagine a great public demand—e. g. the Schweitzer perform-

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ance of Bach, Paderewski's of "Reflets dans l'eau," Mary Garden's and Edward Johnson's of arias from "Louise."

But if the sales of the Cortot-Thibaud-Casals or Kreisler-Rachmaninov recordings did not satisfy Victor's high standards than I contend those recordings are the kind that a record company has an obligation to keep available in some way—e. g. in a special request section of its catalogue. Business firms allow the profits on some items to carry others that are not profitable; there was a time, I believe, when Victor allowed its popular records to carry its Red Seal section; a few years ago it was still paying this principle lip service, claiming that it had to put out all the big-sale recordings by popular Red Seal artists to pay for the small-sale connoisseur recording, but never actually getting around to produce the small-sale connoisseur recording which it was earning the money to pay for; but today it is frank enough to say that every recording must be profitable.

From Decca, which without calling it by that name has been issuing on LP a treasury of the immortal performances in the old Parlophone catalogue—most notably the Goldberg-Kraus recordings of Mozart's violin sonatas (though not yet of Beethoven's) and Haydn's trios—we get the first of two Lotte Lehmann records, with performances (all in German) of arias from "The Magic Flute" (poorly reproduced), "Figaro," "Fidelio," "Tannhäuser," "Lohengrin," "Madame Butterfly," and D'Albert's "Die toten Augen." In them we hear her distinctively luscious voice in its prime, the short-breathed singing which broke Mozart's and Beethoven's phrases even then, the unique suffusion of the singing with a personal warmth that achieves the miracle we used to witness at the Metropolitan—of dull Elisabeth and pallid Elsa being transformed into radiant, warm beings who touch our hearts.

With books I have to wait for summer in the country, when there is time to read them and write about them; but the excessive lateness of this paragraph on the final collection of Tovey's writings, "The Mainstream of Music and Other Essays" (Oxford; $4), is the fault of the person who was to review it and, after many months, didn't. I feel impelled to write about it even at this late date because with the increasing awareness of Tovey's faults and limitations there is need of emphasizing the greatness of his achievement where they did not operate. His limitations of sympathy and understanding, it was pointed out to me recently, represented the ideas on the history of music that he absorbed from his teacher Parry; but it was also from Parry, he tells us somewhere, that he learned his procedure of point-to-point analysis of music; and this procedure, applied to works of composers for whom he did have sympathy and understanding, gave us those excitingly illuminating descriptions of the courses of events in Mozart's concertos and Haydn's symphonies, and thus enabled him, in dealing with these works, to fulfil the primary purpose of criticism as it was so well defined by E. M. Forster: "It considers the [individual work of art] in itself, as an entity, and tells us what it can about its life." Moreover, this examination and description of the life of particular works underlay Tovey's general statements about a composer's practice, such as he put into the monumental essays on Schubert and Haydn reprinted in this last collection. In these, it should be noted, there are not the mannerisms and obscurities of the later essays and lectures in the collection, but richly perceptive and beautifully formulated observations, one of which may be applied to his own work. "Neither Shakespeare nor Schubert," he wrote, "will ever be understood by any critic or artist who regards their weaknesses and inequalities as proof that they are artists of less than the highest rank." Nobody has produced anything like Tovey's essays on Schubert and Haydn; and nothing he did elsewhere can make him less than one of the greatest of music critics.

Those who have not yet had their fill of material about Wagner's life will find in "Letters of Richard Wagner" (Macmillan, $10.50) the letters of the Burrell Collection, which the Burrell family withheld even from scholars, and which now—as a result of their purchase by the present Mrs. Efrem Zimbalist—are published as edited, annotated, and placed in a context of explanatory narrative by John N. Burk.

"Source Readings in Music History" (Norton; $8.50) gives us the texts of writings about music from ancient Greece to the nineteenth century. From these writings, selected and annotated by Professor Oliver Strunk of Princeton, we learn what ideas about music as an art were held at various times and how particular developments in the art were regarded by contemporary musicians and theorists. In the section devoted to the nineteenth century this purpose is achieved largely by means of critical essays of Weber, Berlioz, Schumann, and Liszt on particular pieces of music; and Berlioz's discussion of Rossini's "William Tell" turns out to be another of the Berlioz writings which bring tears to one's eyes with their musical perception, literary brilliance, and personal warmth and nobility.

CONTRIBUTORS

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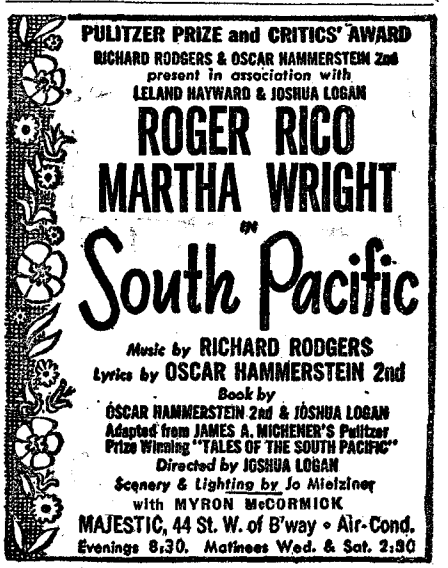
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LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

White-Collar Crime

Dear Sirs: Congratulations on the splendid article by H. H. Wilson, The Pressure to Buy and Corrupt [July 21]. In the lush verbiage which mushroomed up overnight after each appearance of the Kefauver crime carnival, Dr. Wilson's calm and lucid commentary stands as a refreshing reminder that there are yet among us men who can see beyond their noses—at least in our universities, if not in higher places.

In an article the length of which was, of course, limited, he achieved a miracle of compression and comprehensiveness. His opinion that white-collar crime is the breeding ground for more spectacular kinds of deviant behavior must gain much wider acceptance if our society is to be protected from the inner pressures and contradictions that may destroy it. Otherwise, investigations such as this latest may serve as nothing more than the circuses which entertained another politically sluggish populace quite some time ago.

It is useless periodically to throw someone to the lions when the root causes of the evil are studiously avoided. It may be upsetting to our time-honored credo of "business is business," and all of the other shopworn theories with which we justify unjustifiable commercial activity, but the role of white-collar crime as an infectious frame of reference for the less respectable varieties of criminal experience can no longer be denied. It is here, in the area where we find not only violations of government price and priority controls, of federal and state tax statutes, of food-and-drug legislation, but also attempts to achieve anti-social ends through the corruption of the legislative process itself—it is here that a fruitful and revealing study could be made. A well-informed public would provide the necessary impetus and support to see it carried through. We might all begin by reading Dr. Wilson's book, "Congress: Corruption and Compromise."

As a melancholy footnote to Dr. Wilson's observation that "the conflict between socially approved goals and means has been [apparently] less acute in Great Britain than in this country," I may add that when I was in England during the winter of 1948-49 all London was talking of the activity of a peculiarly offensive Mr. Stanley, whose record of questionable deals and corruption of public servants caused the resignation of one Minister of rank and a full-dress inquiry by the Attorney General. The behavior of the press was much what one might expect from American papers—before Mr. Stanley disappeared from the country, the story of his life was featured prominently in a leading London daily. While public opinion was pretty solidly against the unfortunate member of Parliament whose career was blasted by the incident—unlike those of the receivers of deep-freezers and seaside vacations in this country—it could hardly suppress its mixed admiration and envy of a man who had "gotten his" while the getting was good.

HENRY SHERMAN

Forest Hills, N. Y.

An Indian Student's Request

Dear Sirs: This letter comes to you from a student in India.

An advertisement in the London *New Statesman and Nation* aroused my curiosity about your magazine, and when I heard that students would no longer be able to read *The Nation* in American school libraries, I was all the more eager to see it.

I know your paper must be as good as the *New Statesman*, but your foreign subscription rates amount to as much as a student can earn in many months. Can you allow me some concession? I speak the truth when I say that I will not be able to afford a subscription for many years. Soon after my graduation I will join a liberal newspaper in Delhi as an unpaid apprentice for a year, and then, if I succeed, they may pay me as much as $20 a year.

Recently an editorial in the *New Statesman* commented upon your anniversary number and said it was worth reading. My heart aches. I can afford at the most about $4 a year. I assure you I will make up the deficit in annual instalments.

I know your financial position may not be strong enough to afford such a concession. If, however, you will accept $4 a year, I will send you now the money I have already saved and eventually send you all I owe.

[NAME WITHHELD]

Lundhiana, India

[*Our correspondent has been sent the anniversary issue and a complimentary subscription.*—EDITORS THE NATION.]

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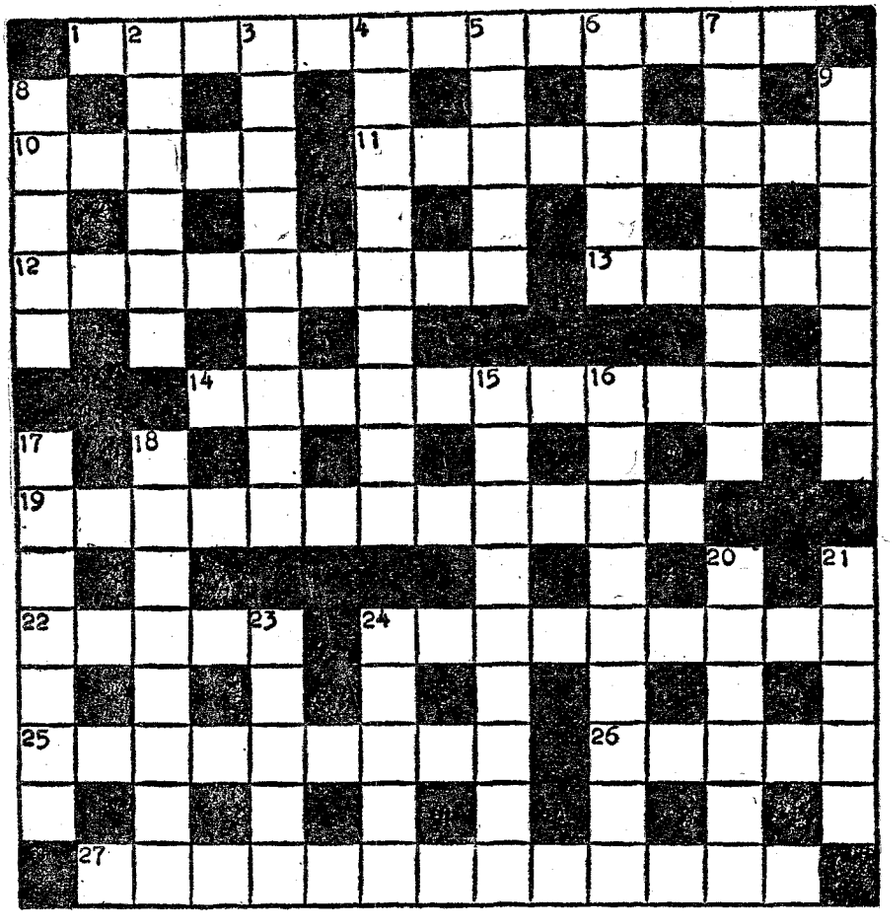
Crossword Puzzle No. 427

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Everything in fun? Eventually! (3, 2, 4, 4)
10 Just a short way to attempt to make an appointment. (5)
11 Isometric change. (9)
12 What one is likely to make on the premises. (9)
13 One can't win! (5)
14 The finance company might be not quite so favorably impressive. (12)
19 and 27. Implying the venerable jester is unexcelled. (6, 2, 4, 4, 2, 3, 4)
22 Dump, perhaps. (5)
24 The contents of its liquid form are not quite so hot as the contents of its solid form. (6, 3)
25 360 degrees about the 14th letter. (9)
26 The Lady of the Lake haunted her isle. (5)
27 See 19.

DOWN

2 Retirement is quite the opposite of a challenge to Macduff. (3-3)
3 Surrender after getting put into a grave. (9)
4 Amateur Gabriel? (9)
5 Where one goes to the magic city? (5)
6 'Twon't make the fabric? On the contrary! (5)
7 Sail over the main? Still contrary! (8)
8 It's an other form of mark. (5)
9 and 18. Service, Mac! I go up to him who gave us our name! (7, 8)
15 Damper underfoot. (4, 5)
16 Such a person might not be expected to hear some sermons! (5-4)
17 Bossed like 23, perhaps. (7)
18 See 9.
20 A head with nothing on it! (6)
21 When some people lunch, and make amends for it? (5)
23 Great shield. (5)
24 You'd have to get around this to win the Bendix. (5)

• • • • •

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 426

ACROSS:—1 PANTAGRUEL; 6, 22 and 13 A RUN FOR YOUR MONEY; 10 COW HAND; 11 ATTEMPT; 12 BEATRICE; 15 AREAL; 17 ON THE BALL; 19 CANTONESE; 21 ELFIN; 23 MAMBA; 24 TANAGERS; 28 MAMMOTH; 29 ROLL; 30 POLL PARROT.

DOWN:—1 PECK; 2 NOWHERE; 3 APART; 4 RUDDIGORE; 5 EVADE; 7 ROMANIA; 8 and 26 NOT BY A LONG SHOT; 9 STAMPEDE; 14 MATCHMAKER; 16 LEOPARDS; 18 and 27 THE ANIMAL KINGDOM; 20 NOMINAL; 24 TEMPO; GAMMA.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, New York

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